The Politics of Roma Expulsions in France and the European Union

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In October 2013, French police intercept a local school bus en route to a field trip and make a rare, public arrest. The incident was out of the ordinary as French government circulaires - leaked government documents - prohibit publicly arresting children and the commonly held French belief maintains that public arrest, and other "perp walks", are degrading to the accused (Valls 1) (Varela & Gauthier-Villars 1). The target of this highly unusual public arrest was fifteen-year-old Leonarda Dibrani, a Roma girl of Kosovar extraction whose family's asylum application had been rejected. Dibrani recounts, "All my friends and my teacher were crying, some of them asked me if I had killed someone or stolen something as the police were looking for me. When the police reached the bus they told me to get out and that I had to go back to Kosovo" ("Protests"). Her arrest in front of her schoolmates ignited a subsequent outrage in France and worldwide, with thousands of Parisian high school students protesting and barricading entrances, in one instance, under the banner, "Education in danger" ("Protests"). The Dibrani case, however, is just one of the more publicized episodes in a series of actions taken against France's foreign Roma population. The goal of these actions has been mass deportation and expulsion of the foreign Roma on the grounds that they reside in France illegally, despite the majority of the foreign Roma being European Union (EU) citizens with a right to move and live across the EU freely. What started as a campaign under President Sarkozy resulted in the expulsion of approximately 10,000 Roma in 2010, 8,000 in 2011, 12,000 in 2012, and most recently, 19,380 in 2013 (Gunther 206) (RFI 1) ("France deports"). Since 2010, the expulsion campaign has been met with condemnation worldwide, with a plethora of world leaders and organizations expressing their outrage that a historically marginalized minority would be so openly targeted by the French government. With the 2012 election of Socialist Party candidate,

François Hollande, the number of expelled Roma has increased and world leaders have inexplicably remained silent.

In the United States, the word "Gypsy" – often used as an exogenous term for the Roma – may conjure images of swarthy, colorfully clothed violin players from a far-removed time. In Europe, however, "Gypsy" is often associated with criminality, untrustworthiness, and laziness, as the Roma are often found on the sides of streets begging for coins and using their children to gain pity. These associations allow for the Roma to be seen as problems, of needing to be dealt with, and France has responded by expelling them en masse. The guiding normative principle I take in this thesis is that government power should always be questioned through a process of examining the legitimacy of the government's actions. When the French government expels Roma en masse, it believes its actions to be legitimate based on knowledge of the area in which it acts, in this case, the Roma. Examining the French government's presuppositions of the Roma as well as EU law reveals that the French government's expulsions are based on illegitimate rationale. In other words, the French government's actions are built on flawed presuppositions that form the rationale of its actions. Thus, a critical examination of France's actions is necessary so as to not to take the assumptions and presuppositions about the Roma as undeniable truth. For example, instead of assuming the Roma's lifestyle is too different from French society, it is necessary to examine the assumptions about the Roma lifestyle that appear to make it incompatible. These presuppositions are the foundation for the knowledge that the government uses to legitimize its actions; therefore, it is important to vigorously examine them.

This thesis starts with a brief socio-historical account of the Roma in Europe to give the current politics better context. Roma history is vast but most important to note is the history of persecution towards the Roma by non-Roma across Europe. Similarly, non-Roma have

represented the Roma in the media as criminals and outsiders for centuries; a practice that still exists amongst news media portrayals of Roma that focus on sensationalized singular examples of criminality and negligence. More recent and sympathetic media representations of the Roma, however, focus on a narrative of communal survival that contrasts with traditional, exogenous portrayals of Roma. Next, the current material conditions of the Roma are taken into account by highlighting both the poverty and inequality the Roma suffer across Europe as well the reasons for Roma migration. Following this, I examine the rationale for expulsion as stated by French officials and government circulaires. The rationale follows three types: security and public health reasons, fiscal reasons, and social integration reasons. These reasons represent the assumptions and presuppositions for expelling the Roma, which I seek to question by providing evidence and arguments to the contrary. After examining the reasons for expulsion, I present the legal arguments demonstrating the possible areas of EU law that France violated with the Roma expulsions. Finally, I conclude with theories of integration and how the French republican model precludes communitarian forms of integration that may actually facilitate social integration into French society.

A Socio-Historical Context

To better understand the current situation of the Roma in France and Europe, it is useful to have some working knowledge concerning the history of the Roma in Europe and, more generally, who the Roma are, especially considering the controversy surrounding the mass expulsions of the last five years. It is important, however, to be aware of the categorization of the Roma that this task might entail. Simhandl explains, “The unspoken agreement to treat

‘Roma/Gypsies’ as an objective category is the foundational moment of the discourse, and the preservation of this category is decisive” (74). The objective, therefore, is not to prescribe traits to the Roma as a category but to analyze the policies and treatment of the Roma that exist because they represent a discursive category upon which political instruments and programs have been enacted (Simhandl 75). Another foundational issue is determining who is considered to be a Roma. As a representative of the Directorate-General for Enlargement of the European Commission stated, “One of the difficult things about the whole Roma issue is of course what and who is [a] Roma. […] It’s not so black and white being a Roma” (Post cited in Simhandl 75). The socio-historical context of the Roma is not meant to be representative or all-encompassing but is an overview of the history of movement and relations of the Roma with the areas with which they have come into contact. This overview is nonetheless important to understanding the current situation of those understood to be Roma in France and Europe today.

The popular understanding of Roma history can be described as an amalgamation of myth, stereotypes and history, all of which, to some degree, may reinforce each other. The most accepted hypothesis concerning Roma origins is the Northern Indian hypothesis, which claims that the modern Roma descended from nomadic tribes outside the rigid Indian caste system. This, hypothesis, however, reinforces the stereotype of inherent nomadism and, even more farfetched, the idea of the Roma as descendents of a carefree caste of entertainers, unattached to sedentary lifestyle (McGarry 7-8). Myths held by the Roma themselves once postulated an Egyptian connection but this has since been disproven by linguistic analysis that puts the Roma in northern India due to similarity between the Romani language and Sanskrit (McGarry 8). Linguistic analysis further indicates that the Greek influence on Romani vocabulary and grammar points to several centuries of Roma habitation in Byzantium before crossing the Bosporus into Europe.

Hancock argues that military conquest necessitated Roma migration to Europe: "… Muslim expansion towards the West, particularly initiated by the Seljuk Turks, was also the primary reason why they moved into Europe" (Hancock cited in McGarry 10). This argument is supported by the first mention of the Roma in Europe in a 1283 tax document referring to "the so-called Egyptians and Tsigani" in Southern Greece (McGarry 10). While Roma migration is irrefutable, the notion that inherent nomadism was behind it is the product of romantic stereotypes and it is far more likely that the Roma migrated out of necessity (McGarry 10).

The first Roma in Europe settled in the southeast near present-day Romania (Wallachia at the time) and the Balkans and predominantly practiced metalwork and craftwork (McGarry 10). The Roma have had a continuous presence in that region but the subsequent Ottoman invasions in the late 13th century led to waves of westward migration, the first of which, a small expeditionary wave, settled in central/eastern Europe (Vesery-Fitzgerald cited in McGarry 11). The Roma were willing to adapt to their new environment and converted to the dominant religion, Christianity, and obtained pilgrim status on the grounds that they were reverted Christians from Egypt who had previously experienced forced conversion to Islam. This status was accepted by the Holy Roman emperor of Sigismund and the Pope and meant that the Roma were welcomed by mainstream European society. By 1414, Roma had begun to settle in German principalities, in France by 1419, and Rome and Bologna by 1422 (McGarry 11) (Liebig 91). It was during these much larger migrations that the Roma saw their initial welcome devolve rampant discrimination. By 1438, mass Roma migrations coincided with repressive legislation that forbade the Roma from conducting business with Europeans, which necessitated petty theft in order to feed themselves. Some Roma turned to exploiting their apparent otherness and Asiatic origins by practicing fortune telling, thus leading to accusations of sorcery, which would be

associated with the Roma for years to come (McGarry 12). Similarly, the Roma were refused access to town wells and other utilities that led to accusations of uncleanliness (Hancock cited in McGarry 12). What started as initial acceptance as religious pilgrims rapidly devolved into what Gheorge and Acton call, “sustained genocidal persecution and enslavement” beginning in the early 1500’s (McGarry 15). The Roma who had settled in Wallachia (present-day Romania) were subject to enslavement and were considered to be, “no more than cattle” (Greenberg cited in Gunther 209). The Roma in Wallachia were enslaved by opportunistic landowners, the state, and the church, which continued from the 1500’s until 1864. During this time, penal codes expressed that, “Gypsies are born slaves” (McGarry 16). In the rest of Europe, treatment of the Roma varied considerably from death sentences for being Roma in England and Prussia, to “hunting” Roma in Holland and Denmark, to forced assimilation in Hungary and Castile (Kenrick and Puxon cited in McGarry 16) (McGarry 17-18). For many years, the official Hungarian policy included coerced assimilation in which the state forced Roma children into Hungarian schools and, in some cases, imposed the adoption of Roma by Hungarian families in an attempt to create “neo-Hungarians” (McGarry 17). This practice, thought to be more humanitarian at the time, was replicated in Castilian Spain with the hope to make “neo-Castilians” out of the Spanish Gitanos (McGarry 18). Another method of repression was banning and expelling of Roma from specific kingdoms and principalities, notably, German cities, Swiss lands, and all of Austria, with the purported goal of deporting the Roma “pest” from Europe (McGarry 15, 17-18).

While anti-ziganism was rampant throughout the European continent, intellectuals were interested in the otherness of the Roma and who they were and where they came from. It was not until the 18th century that ethnographers and linguists deduced the Indian origins of the Roma based on similarities between Romani and Sanksrit. This discovery changed the perception of the

Roma but it was hardly an emancipating discovery as they were romanticized through a new conception of stereotypes. As Kenrick and Puxon note, “alongside the stereotype dirty, dishonest, child-stealing villain we have the dark, handsome, violin-playing lover Gypsy” (McGarry 19). This turn towards the scientific explanation of the Roma presence would eventually give way to the scientific racism behind the Porajmos, the Roma Holocaust. By all accounts, the genocide of the Roma perpetrated by the Nazi regime received little attention in the post-war despite an estimated 1.5 million Roma deaths (Greenberg cited in Gunther 209) (McGarry 23). Like the Jewish Holocaust, the Roma were also considered racially inferior and subjected to persecution if it could be proven that an individual had at least two great-great grandparents who were Roma. The European Roma were relentlessly pursued and sent en masse to extermination camps, as they were considered not worthy of life, like their Jewish counterparts. Ultimately, it is estimated that 70 percent of European Roma perished in the Porajmos (McGarry 20-24). In post-war Europe, the remaining Roma found themselves mostly concentrated in central and eastern Europe and under the influence of the Soviet Union. Under the Soviet Union and other communist regimes, many Roma were subject to forced sterilization and were denied access to adequate education (Greenberg and Tomasovic in Gunther 209). The assimilation policies towards the Roma entailed “rescuing” the Roma from their origins and turning them into good socialist citizens through cultural suppression and forcing them into work programs (Tong cited in McGarry 25). Despite the heavy-handedness of this approach, the Roma’s economic standing was the best it had ever been in their history in Europe (Gunther 209-210). The lack of education and reliance on state-supported industries with the end of the communist project in Central and Eastern Europe meant that the Roma would be hit hard by the introduction of market economics in that region (Gunther 209). In the current post-communist period the Roma find themselves

again in difficult economic times by effectively losing out in the transition to market economics as well as in the accession of Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries to the European Union.

Representations of the Roma

In the period following European Enlightenment, media representations of the Roma grew in parallel to European pseudo-scientific fascination with their origins and their language. Whereas in the pre-Enlightenment era, Europeans saw the Roma as threats to Christian order and morality and subsequently subjugated them to genocidal 'huntings' and other forms of oppression, the post-Enlightenment romanticized the Roma in a way that reinforced their otherness, albeit not to the previous violent extent. Following Maurice Halbwachs' theory of collective memory, Romantic representations influenced how Europeans came to understand the Roma. These understandings are still prevalent in the current media representations of the Roma. According to Halbwachs' theory, "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories ("Collective" 7). While fictional representations are not memories because they never actually occurred, representations do postulate how people come to 'know' about the Roma. Even if an individual has never met a Roma, she forms knowledge of the Roma based on representations in her culture. Thus, Halbwachs emphasizes the role of one's group on collective memory. Darity states,

Halbwachs thus argued that it is impossible for individuals to remember in any coherent and persistent fashion outside of their group contexts. Group memberships provide the materials for memory and prod the individual into recalling particular events and into forgetting others.

Groups can even produce memories in individuals of events that they never experienced in any direct sense. Halbwachs thus resisted […] the commonsense view of remembering as a purely—perhaps even quintessentially—individual affair (“Collective” 7).

Taking Halbwachs’ argument into account, Europeans came to rely upon their own exogenous portrayals of the Roma to better ‘know’ them and the current media representations of the Roma find their influence in these nineteenth century representations.

In the French language, Prosper Mérimée’s 1845 novella, *Carmen*, is perhaps the most well-known work to extensively feature the Roma. Made into an even better known opera in 1875 by Georges Bizet, the novella recounts the eponymous protagonist, Mérimée’s, adventures in Spain with a robber, José Lizarrabengoa, and a Roma woman, Carmen, later revealed to be José’s wife. When Carmen invites Mérimée to her house so that she can tell his fortune, the romanticism becomes evident.

Je doute fort que mademoiselle Carmen fût de race pure, du moins elle était infiniment plus jolie que toutes les femmes de sa nation que j’aie jamais rencontrées […] Sa peau d’ailleurs parfaitement unie, approchait fort de la teinte du cuivre. Ses yeux étaient obliques, mais admirablement fendus ; ses lèvres un peu fortes, mais bien dessinées et laissant voir des dents plus blanches que des amendes sans leur peau. Ses cheveux, peut-être un peu gros, étaient noirs, à reflets bleues comme l’aile d’un corbeau, longs et luisants. […] Ses yeux surtout avaient une expression à la fois voluptueuse et farouche que je n’ai trouvée depuis à aucun regard humain (Mérimée 111).

This description is quite revealing as it demonstrates the duality of exotic sensuality and danger attributed to the Roma. Shown to be untrustworthy and conniving, Carmen exhibits

interest in Mérimée's gold watch but only so she could steal it. Using her exotic and seductive prowess, Carmen lures men to steal from them and to manipulate her husband and his gang. Stating that Carmen "était un demon", Don José recounts that he killed Carmen in a fit of rage upon her telling him she found another man and that she does not love Don José anymore. The story ends with Don José quipping, "Pauvre enfant! Ce sont les Calés [Roms] qui sont coupables pour l'avoir élevée ainsi" (Mérimée 165). Mérimée's epilogue consists of a pseudo-scientific and racialized description of the Roma, which would have passed for scholarly comment when it was written. For example, he states their look can only be compared to that of a "wild beast." The trope of the sensual and dangerous Gypsy is tempered by their dirtiness and moral degeneracy, according to Mérimée. "La saleté des deux sexes est incroyable […] certaines jeunes filles, un peu plus agréables que les autres, prennent plus de soin de leur personne. Celles-la vont danser pour de l'argent […]" (Mérimée). Furthermore, Carmen furthers the quality of 'otherness' amongst the Roma by portraying them as distrustful of Gadje, non-Roma. "[…] leur principale vertu est le patriotisme, si l'on peut ainsi appeler la fidélité qu'ils observent dans leurs relations avec les individus de même origine qu'eux […]" (Mérimée 167, 168-169). This stereotype of the dangerous, esoteric nature of the Roma exists to this day, particularly when non-Roma discuss why the Roma cannot integrate. The alleged inability to integrate is not far-removed from representing the Roma as foreign, as evidenced by their association with the occult and criminality.

The French media, whether knowingly or unknowingly, shape the discourse surrounding the Roma, and in particular, further the ingrained stereotypes about their criminality and association with mess and cost to the French taxpayer. Recent media stories such as "Qui sont les Roms? Prostitué, c'est le seul travail que je connais" would imply that individuals, the Roma

prostitute in this case, are representative of the whole, thus linking the Roma with prostitution (Legrand) ("Qui" 1). Similarly, 20 Minutes runs a story about the closing down of a Roma camp that was used for a prostitution ring (Pavard). 20 Minutes also reports on the alleged plot to sell Roma babies illegally to parents in Ajaccio and Marseille ("Trafic" 1). Other media opt to highlight health and safety issues related to Roma camps. Two of France's largest daily newspapers, Le Monde and Le Figaro, refer to two different instances of dangerous fires in Roma camps, with Le Figaro's story adding that the fire led to the death of an infant and required the evacuation of the entire camp ("Incendie" 1) ("Feu" 1). Similarly, Midi-Libre reports a Roma camp near Nîmes being in "a dire sanitary state" ("Nimes" 1). While national newspapers' editorials like Le Monde have taken critical stances towards politicians and their expulsion policies, the news coverage has largely focused on negative aspects of the Roma presence, such as issues related to mess, cost, and criminality (Troutman). Thus, the Roma have long been targets of social stigmatization, which functions to, "[…] maintain social order by allowing the dominant group to send messages to its members, expressing values, beliefs, and behaviors they oppose" (Muturi & An, cited in Denton 17). Furthermore, media perpetuate stigmas by focusing on the deviancy associated with the Roma, which fosters negative emotions and portrays them as a separate entity from the dominant group (Smith 2007 cited in Denton 17). That the majority group runs the media exacerbates the passive role the Roma represent. According to Voorhees,

> Minorities are stereotypically represented in either a passive role as the mere targets of decisions and actions or as breaking norms and laws that is, as being deviant and a threat to 'us' (the assumed white audience). […]News media tend to reinforce the interests of dominant groups and symbolically reproduce and reinforce current social orders and institutions. Chomsky (1998) asserts that the purpose of the media is to defend the agendas of privileged groups and reify the

image of minorities as criminals and welfare leeches. (Loto et al. cited in Voorhees 418) (Hall et al. cited in Voorhees 418) (Chomsky cited in Voorhees 418).

Taking the news media's coverage at face value, one sees the Roma as a problem to be fixed, which, in the French case, means expelling the Roma and the host of social problems associated with them. Alas, representing the Roma as such does not take into account the Roma point of view nor do the media examine the forces that necessitate their living in isolated camps nor what socio-economic factors lead to their alleged involvement in the black market economy. Though written in the nineteenth century, Prosper Mérimée's account of the Roma is not qualitatively far-removed from current media depiction of the Roma, which continue to conjure up a dangerous, foreign, and criminal 'other' amongst the majority.

Representation of the Roma in both news media and literature has been exogenous for centuries, as the Roma perspective has only revealed itself recently. Current works, however, have challenged the traditional representation of the Roma by representing Roma characters in France. These representations speak to a narrative of survival amongst the Roma in a hostile society where they are constantly feared to be deviant and criminal. Julia Billet's *Alors, partir*? shows the effects of fear and suspicion on a Roma community as they are forced to leave their camp under orders from the local government. When the time comes to debate what to do, one Roma man, Solémo, recounts the history of Roma travelling.

Les Roms ont été choisis, il y a bien longtemps, pour parcourir la Terre à la recherche de la vie détour des sentiers. Nous sommes partis de l'Inde lointaine et avons parcouru le monde et nous l'avons appris en foulant la terre, en marchant sur les routes, à pied, à cheval et en voiture, la tête dans le ciel, un pied dans chaque pays, sans patrie, sans autre appartenance que celle de

nos corps aux éléments. […] Eux pensent que le trésor est dans leur banque ou dans des coffres. Foutaise ! Leur or et leur argent ont perdu la matière minérale pour devenir papier et métal. Le feu brûle et fait fondre leurs biens les plus précieux. Leur argent, leurs maisons, leurs terres, leurs papiers. Ils croient posséder et ils n'ont rien. Ils détruisent la Terre, oublient leurs enfants, oublient qu'un jour tout sera pourri par les fumées […] Nous n'avons rien, rien d'autre que notre foi, notre savoir, nos corps et nos esprits. Nos vies ensemble sont liées à jamais, depuis toujours. La Terre a donné à chacun de nos pas des pans de la sagesse qui manque aux gadjé. Ils ne bougent pas, restent attachés à des bouts de Terre, jusqu'à croire que la propriété est un acte. Ils sont fous de leurs biens. Nous avons collecté ces morceaux de l'humanité et nous devons les transporter toujours plus loin pour continuer à faire tourner la Terre. Ils ne savent pas que la Terre tourne parce que la marche de notre peuple la fait tourner. Nous, Gitans, Roms, Tsiganes, nous et aussi les nomades des déserts, les nomades de toute race, de toute Terre, nous donnons son mouvement circulaire au globe, par la force de nos pas (Billet 25-27).

While it is not true that most Roma are nomadic, Solémo's monologue speaks to the rift between how the non-Roma and the Roma view Roma travelers. Whereas the non-Roma associate nomadism and makeshift housing with criminality and unseemliness, the Roma see travelling as natural and part of the Roma way of knowing. Solémo's assertion that the Roma travel, "à la recherche de la vie détour des sentiers", suggests travelling as a mode of survival and to find a detour from something. As previously mentioned, the Roma have migrated as a way to avoid conflict, war, and persecution and also to find better opportunities. While Billet is not of Roma descent, her work challenges conventional Roma portrayals by presenting French adolescents with the counter-narrative of survival (Marty). This narrative of survival is a common theme throughout the newer representations of Roma and challenges the typical

exogenous portrayal of Roma as criminally oriented. French Roma director Tony Gatlif's films have long explored the lives of the Roma from a sympathetic and endogenous point of view. The survival narrative features prominently in Gatlif's 2009 film, *Korkoro*, which follows a family of Roma as they attempt to escape Nazi persecution in France. Seen by the local authorities as a public order threat, the French mairie takes their horses and forces them to register with the government. "On n'a jamais fait de la guerre", explains one of the Roma men, as he tries to reason with the authorities that they are merely travelling to escape persecution (Gatlif: 2009). Their attempts at reasoning, however, do not stop the occupied French government from handing them over to the Nazis. Other elements of survival occur in Marilène Clément's *3 contes tziganes*, a children's book, wherein three travelling Roma brothers come to work for a butcher in Hungary when they are desperately hungry. The Hungarian man, a speaker of Romani, teaches the brothers the craft as well as rudimentary Hungarian, as the brothers begin adapting to the new culture. One day, however, the butcher appears to have mysteriously died and the distrustful townspeople blame the Roma brothers and kick them out of town. The butcher, however, wakes up from an apparent deep sleep, which the townspeople attribute to the Roma brothers' sorcery, thus serving as an anecdote for why the Roma are associated with the occult (Clément 41-67). Similarly, the Roma in French writer Didier van Cauwelaert's *Un aller simple* are depicted as resorting to stealing and reselling car radios to make ends meet. Portrayed as generous, they take in and teach a young and desperate Moroccan man their trade (Cauwelaert 6). The Roma are too often portrayed in media as untrustworthy, criminal, superstitious, and as the dangerous 'other' living in our midst. These stereotypes even live in the English language with terms like "gypped" finding their etymology in the stereotype of the Roma as cheats and swindlers (Challa). Newer media, however, have sought to bring to light the Roma point of view concerning their

characterizations and lifestyles. While these works may speak from the Roma point of view, the authors are not Roma themselves, which presents a problem for finding authentic voices within francophone literature. Azouz Begag's 1986 bestseller, *Le Gone du Chaâba*, was instrumental in presenting French maghrébins – those of North African descent – as creators of their own subject. The autobiographical novel details the struggles of a young Algerian boy, living in a shantytown outside Lyon, as he attempts to balance the clash of Arab and French culture. Concerning the creation of the subject in Le Gone du Chaâba, Emery states:

> Writers have long explored the nature of space in the formulation of the subject, its hold on the subject as well as the possibilities for change by the subject's mastery over it […] Begag introduces a very bright and insightful beur subject, who, through his contacts in school and his writing, moves between and ultimately transcends the diametrically opposed geographical and mental spaces of the French urban landscape. Analogous to his family's move from the closed Arab space of the Chaaba, a tight-knit shantytown community on the outskirts of Lyon, to an apartment within the city limits –ethnically still in the margins but now within the privileged French urban space - Azouz's progressive integration translates into a narrative realm where different entities are able to combine and create something new. This realm, delineated by Begag's childhood memories, not only grows from intricate cultural intermixing but also infuses multilingualism, which the author recreates in a hybrid French that integrates Arabic, as well as Lyonnais slang, with meaning. In effect, the novel's inventiveness works in tandem with the protagonist's creative self-formulation in order to create a viable Beur identity and narrative figure (Emery 1153).

As the Algerians in Begag's novel begin to lessen their physical separateness from French society by both moving closer to the urban center and by creating their own subject, new

literary representations attempt to bring the Roma experience closer to the francophone literary center. Unlike French maghrébins, however, the Roma in France lack writers to create their own authentic subjects within French literary space and continue to live on the margins of society. Occupying both the literary and geographic margins, the Roma are doubly removed from having an authentic presence in French society. This necessitates Roma writers to fill the vacuum of their representation in multicultural France, as Begag and other writers have accomplished in creating spaces for maghrébin identity.

While representations like that of Prosper Mérimée's may not exist in literature anymore, and while some writers have represented the Roma sympathetically, unscrupulous news media continue to represent them in a negative light, usually by focusing on extreme, sensational cases. Reporting rarely focuses on the context with which certain Roma may be driven to make ends meet on the black market, which is the extreme poverty, lack of opportunities and discrimination they face across Europe.

The Material Condition of the Roma in France

The 1990's witnessed great economic and social changes in Central and Eastern Europe, with the transformation of communist countries into liberal democracies. A hallmark of the liberal democratic project was "shock therapy", the rapid and painful introduction of market economics in the previous command economies, with the rationale that a quick transition would be socially disrupting, yet the most effective in the long run. The Roma, having never been trained in skilled labor and having been largely ignored by higher education, suffered the brunt of shock therapy as their previous employment in state-run enterprises were now non-existent in

their home countries. More than twenty years after the initiation of shock therapy and the transition to liberal democracy, the material situation of the Roma in CEE countries has largely stagnated as they have missed out on the benefits of market economics in their countries. According to a European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) report, the Roma's material situation in CEE countries is so poor that it resembles more closely the quality of life in sub-Saharan African countries than it does to that of EU member states (Guy 1). Guy notes, "A 2002 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) survey found that in terms of illiteracy, infant mortality and malnutrition 'most of the region's [estimated 4 to 6 million] Roma endure living conditions closer to those of sub-Saharan Africa than to Europe' " (1). The problems faced by the Roma in CEE countries are pertinent issues for not only the home countries but also for Western European countries, to which many Roma migrate. According to a 2013 EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) report, poverty, unemployment, and discrimination – those factors which contribute miserable living conditions – constitute "push" factors that contribute to and incentivize Roma migration to Western European member states (FRA 2009: 18). It is important to keep in mind that in accordance to the EU principle of freedom of movement for all citizens of member states, the Roma citizens of CEE country member states have a right to unrestricted movement within the EU. This principle, however, is not without qualifications – which will be discussed later – but for the purposes of migration, EU enlargement of CEE countries has made it easier for the Roma to legally move across Europe. Along with the "push" factors that contribute to migration from the country, the FRA report also cites "pull" factors that incentivize migration to Western European countries, which include friends and family already in the destination country, assumptions of better opportunities, and hopeful and vague notions of a

better life, namely better material conditions and less discrimination (FRA 2009: 18-19). Illustrative of these push and pull factors is this opinion of a Roma man in Spain,

"Before democracy, Bulgarian, Roma and Turkish people could have worked at one and the same place. I did not feel treated differently. […] We had money to get by. But now it is impossible. If you are unemployed you get social assistance for four to five months and then again you are left without any means of living and no prospects of starting working. My final destination [in Spain] was the village of Medina where my mother had already managed to make a living. She supported me shortly until I managed to start working. That is impossible to happen now in Bulgaria. There was work to do before democracy, not any more" (FRA 2009: 19).

Whilst migration can be attributed to push and pull factors, it is also useful to think of Roma migration as conforming to patterns of movement: planned and permanent movement, planned and non-permanent movement, regular movement, and continuous movement. Planned and permanent movement denotes migration wherein the Roma move to another member state with the intention of emigrating there permanently. Planned but non-permanent movement, on the other hand, involves the migrant planning to return to the home country. Regular movement signifies intervallic movement between one country and the home country. Lastly, continuous movement refers to constant opportunity-seeking movement between multiple member state and the home country (FRA 2009: 26). These latter two patterns of movement largely conform to the stereotypical view of the nomadic Gypsies, incapable of assimilating, as described by French Interior Minister, Manuel Valls (RFI 1).

The Roma migrate westward for many reasons, mostly related to reuniting with family and the perceived opportunities in Western European member states that would greatly improve

their lives. Unfortunately, the material situation of the Roma in western countries is still very poor, especially when compared to the situation of the non-Roma living in those countries. Demographics show that the disparity between the Roma and the non-Roma is the most pronounced in France, as well as Italy, compared to other Western European countries. Likewise, it is important to keep in mind that the demographic statistics concerning the Roma, provided by the European Union Agency on Fundamental Rights' 2012 report, mostly concern Roma with French citizenship. The report does not take into account the non-French Roma residing in France who are subject to expulsion (FRA 2012: 30). According to the report, more than 95 percent of the Roma in France live in households at significant risk of poverty compared to 38 percent for non-Roma, with "at risk of poverty" households defined as those with an equivalized income below 60 percent of the national median equivalized disposable income (FRA 2012: 2, 25). 10 percent of Roma also lived in a household in which someone went hungry due to the lack of money (2). In the realm of employment, less than 15 percent of Roma received full, paid employment and less than 5 percent between the ages of 20 and 24 completed general or vocational upper secondary school, an important tool in securing well-paid employment. In this category, the disparity is one of the greatest in the countries surveyed as 84 percent of their non-Roma counterparts have achieved general or vocational upper secondary schooling (FRA 2012: 3). Among other disparities noted in the survey are the percentages of children not in school, 12 percent for the Roma, and 2 percent for the non-Roma. Similarly, 57 percent of age-eligible Roma children are in kindergarten, compared to 80 percent for age-eligible non-Roma (FRA 2012 13-14). 36 percent of French Roma are entitled or will be entitled to state or private pensions, whereas 91 percent of non-Roma French are or will be similarly entitled (FRA 2012: 18). Lastly, about 50 percent of the Roma surveyed reported experiencing employment

discrimination (FRA 2012: 19). Morten Kjaerum, director of FRA, notes that the magnitude and similarity of these results across Europe are “shocking” despite governments being aware of the widespread poverty and discrimination the Roma experience. The director opines that Roma poverty and exclusion, “leaves no excuse for delaying swift, effective action to improve the situation. The renewed efforts for Roma integration, however, will only bring sustainable results if they engage with the local communities, Roma and non-Roma, building trust, developing social cohesion, and combating prejudice and discrimination” (FRA 2012: 5). This call from EU leadership for expanded efforts to integrate the Roma through engagement coincides with French national leadership implementing policies that have seen the expulsion of a record 10,000 Roma from France, according to Amnesty International (“France: Record”). The Roma issue highlights a schism between what national leaders see as domestic issues to be solved at the national level and what EU leaders see as supranational rights issues to which national governments should conform.

The Rationale for Expulsion

The politics of Roma expulsion are complex and multi-faceted and they comprise various levels of repression and intolerance over many centuries. In the case of French policy, it is helpful to categorize the rationale for expulsion into three types: security and public health reasons, fiscal reasons, and integration concerns. The first type of rationale furthers the claim that foreign Roma represent a threat to not only public order, but also to themselves, regarding safety issues in Roma camps in particular. The second category associates foreign Roma presence with unreasonable costs to the French welfare system and the third category represents

arguments against the Roma's capacity to integrate into French society. These rationales for expulsion, coming from French officials, serve as the legal justification for Roma expulsions and have been repeated in media without much qualification or interpretation. Therefore, as I suggest, these rationales need to be more critically examined.

Security and Public Health Reasons

The narrative of comparing Roma to public safety threats is one that is closely tied to the stereotypes the Roma suffer as well as to their geographic placement vis-à-vis camps on the periphery of society. The physical separateness of the Roma themselves seems to reinforce their status as dangerous others by "[…] permanently quarantining them to less visible yet easily watched spaces […]" (Pusca 1). The raison-d'être of this quarantine, according to Pusca, is the conflation of Roma migration and nomadism with crime (3). As we have seen, the Roma who are seen as nomadic are so, not due to some mythical, inherent trait, but to economic precariousness and the constant search for employment, that conforms to regular and continuous types of movement (FRA 2009: 26). The association of the Roma with nomadism itself is problematic as Roma identities vary and most Roma are sedentary and prefer to be, only migrating out of economic necessity (Pusca 6). According to Woodcock, the stereotype of nomadism serves as a powerful discursive frame, which, "[…] imagines the entire people as criminal, irreverent towards religion, harboring sinister magical powers and primitive, as evidenced in promiscuity, dancing and baby-snatching" (53). Consequently, "Roma have consistently been treated by the majority population in ways that force them into fulfilling stereotypical expectations" (Woodcock 53). In many cases, the discursive frame of associating the Roma with criminality is

exacerbated with media sensationalism, which in turn, gives credibility and agency for swift government responses. While not a French example, Italian media cases are analogous to those in France. In 2007, for example, the wife on an Italian naval officer was robbed and murdered on the outskirts of Rome, allegedly by a Romanian Roma man living in an unauthorized camp. The event was followed by weeks of intense media scrutiny and sensational stories borrowing from the catalogue of ridiculous Roma stereotypes. Following Berlusconi's new government in May, 2008, dubious news stories surfaced of a Naples woman catching a Roma woman attempting to steal her baby. What resulted was an attack by three to four hundred Italians on a Roma camp, thereby necessitating its evacuation (Woodcock 58-59). Concerning the situation, then-Interior Minister Maroni stated, "that [violence] is what happens when gypsies steal babies, or when Romanians commit sexual violence" (Woodcock 59). It is difficult not to notice that the kind of libel attributed to the Roma in these cases is eerily similar to the blood libel suffered by Jews over many centuries, exacerbating anti-Semitism, and culminating in the Holocaust. Blood libel portrayed Jews as dangerous minorities who would often kill, kidnap, or rape non-Jewish women, in an attempt to satisfy Jewish rituals or to taint non-Jewish bloodlines with Jewish blood. The Tiszaeszlár Affair involved false accusations against a Hungarian Jewish community for killing a non-Jewish girl to fulfill fanatical Jewish rituals. Both the Tiszaeszlár Affair and the Italian examples show how an otherized minority is blamed for outrageous crimes that reinforce popular mistrust and promote violence toward the minority (Kirchick 1). Hardly far removed, the images akin to Jewish blood libel are circulated very similarly in the media with publicized stories of Roma child-stealing and violence towards women. Linking the Roma to violence is not in the least particular to Italy, as the Saint-Aignan incident in 2010 clearly indicates. In this incident, two French Roma, the Dequenet brothers, robbed twenty euros from a pedestrian, which resulted

in one of the brothers being shot and killed by police. The following night, some family members of the brothers broke windows and allegedly burnt cars in the village (Liebig 112). In response to this singular case, Sarkozy promised to deal with the "problèmes que posent les comportements de certains parmi les gens du voyage et les Roms" ("Sarkozy"). In fact, Le Monde points out it was ostensibly the violent act of one Roma family that would provide the raison d'être for what Sarkozy described as, "les expulsions de tous les campements en situation irrégulière", meaning the camps of those Roma who are not French citizens, despite the fact that the perpetrators in the Saint-Aignan incident were French citizens ("Réunion"). Sarkozy's incongruous rationale took inspiration from similar actions enacted by the Prodi and Berlusconi governments two years earlier that were intended to deal with the perceived Roma threat to public safety. After the aforementioned media reports of perpetrated violence and kidnapping by Roma, Prime Minister Prodi, the former head of the EU Commission, announced a new security decree aimed at providing, "urgent provisions for removals from Italian territory for reasons of public safety" (Aradau 43). The decree was specifically aimed at Romanian citizens and Roma despite the right to freedom of movement guaranteed to Romanians with their accession to the EU in 2007. Furthermore, Prodi's 'security package', comprising law decree 181/2007 and the State of Emergency Decree n.122/2008, sought to expel any perceived immigrant threat without legal recourse to challenge expulsion (Woodcock 56) (Sigona 273). Despite this decree and promises of expulsions, Prodi lost a vote of confidence and Berlusconi's coalition of right-wing and far-right parties became the government and passed legislation, the 'Pact of Rome', that saw to the destruction of Roma camps, the expulsion of 20,000 immigrants, and the compulsory fingerprinting of Roma (Aradau 43-44). The heavy-handed measures designed to protect public safety passed despite the Roma only representing 0.3 percent of the Italian population and

despite the fact that the crime rate in Italy had remained not only stable, but one of the lowest in Europe (Aradau 44). Similar to his Italian counterparts, Sarkozy's expulsions reflect the same desire to protect France's own citizens in direct opposition to the ideals of free movement and liberalized borders central to the project of the EU.

A disturbing quality of both the Italian and French expulsions is how they present perceived problems – in this case, immigration – as problems that deserve exceptional attention beyond that normally given to other problems. By claiming that the Roma presented a threat to public order and safety, the French and Italians were able to make Roma immigration not a judicial issue, that is, an issue to be settled by the courts and through legal processes, but a national security issue that is too important to be let alone for the judiciary to adjudicate. With his presidential decrees to expel Roma for national security reasons, Sarkozy effectively securitized the Roma issue. Sarkozy painted the Roma as a realist, or existential, threat to the security of the nation, thereby giving himself more direct political agency to deal with the perceived problem (Parker 481). The securitization of the Roma mirrors the division between liberal approaches and realist approaches to governance and citizenship, both within France and between France and the EU. This is not to say that liberal ideologies of governance are not prevalent in France; in fact it is quite the contrary, as French republicanism is based on the liberal notion of the individual citizen and the rights afforded to the individual by the republic. With the securitization of the Roma, however, the French government abandoned the liberal republican ideology by specifically targeting Roma groups based on their perceived ethnic belonging. Specifically, a 2010 Interior Ministry circulaire, obtained by Le Monde, calls for, "une démarche systématique de démantèlement des camps illicites, en priorité ceux de Roms" ("La circulaire"). Concerning this reversal of republican ideals, Parker states: "The existence of

such practices, which are in clear contravention of the aforementioned republican refusal to collect data on ethnic groups or 'minorities', even for the purposes of positive discrimination, speak to a deeper always-already present discrimination within liberal government" (481). Furthermore, this notion of the "always-already" discrimination in liberal government speaks to the differences between liberal order and realist, securitized order within the debate over the Roma. Liberal order – inherent to the EU and French liberal republicanism – seeks to manage risks to the internal market (freedom of goods, capital, service, people), which is understood as a space of mobility and economic freedom. Thus, the EU is not against deportation in and of itself, but rather condones deportation adjudicated through legal processes, conforming to practices of liberal order. Parker states that liberal theories, "place the accent on 'procedural guarantees' rather than critiquing the deportation of EU citizens per se" (480). The realist securitizing policies of the Sarkozy and Hollande administrations, however, view the Roma not as threats to the internal market and its four freedoms, but to the nation itself. As seen with the government circulaire, the French government considers targeting and expelling as necessary deviations from its otherwise republican platform in order to make France safe from the dangerous, inassimilable "other", the Roma. Where the EU condones the deportation of individuals who do not conform to the liberal ideals of responsible freedom by not participating in the economy, the French government condones the expulsions of those seen as existential threats, or what Manuel Valls calls "inassimilable" and "inherently different" ("Majority"). This is thinly veiled innuendo to say that ethnic "others", the Roma, are not capable of integrating into French society. Thus, with its threat of infringement proceedings against France, the EU attempted to "de-securitize" the Roma issue by framing it as a problem of liberal rather than realist order (Parker 481).

Nevertheless, the two predominant conceptions of citizenship - the liberal and market-oriented ideal of the EU and republican models and the primordial/realist strain of the French government's Roma policy – represent ideas of citizenship that are stable foundations and therefore, according to Parker, "potentially exclusionary and depoliticizing" (485). Moreover, those who do not conform to the liberal logic of EU citizenship challenge the limits of tolerance, upon which the liberal logic is based. Parker explains, "[…] the very condition of possibility of politics is maintained in preserving a space of uncertainty; an instability in the foundations underpinning both 'other' and 'self'" (485). It may well be that the Roma find themselves on the margins of EU liberal citizenship due to the limits of the liberal logic. As evidenced by their poor material conditions and unemployment due to, amongst other things, failed accession policies and racial discrimination, the Roma are not economic actors in the internal market or in liberal citizenship. Also, they are neither what Parker refers to as "settled national citizens" nor "mobile entrepreneurs", the kind of citizen the EU promotes (485). Thus, the Roma are relegated to a type of citizen that exists on the margins of European and French society, which makes them easy targets for a politics that sees them as security problems for both the liberal and realist conceptions of citizenship, and therefore, targets for expulsion. Thus, two avenues for their de-securitization manifest themselves. One involves integrating the Roma into the EU liberal conception of citizenship by improving their material conditions so that they may become economic actors in the internal market. This represents the EU's approach to Roma integration, as seen with the accession and PHARE programs, amongst others (Guy 30-31). The other avenue, advocated by Parker, is more radical in that it involves redefining notions of citizenship and identity. Parker states,

An exposition of the ‘strangeness’, the uncertainty or ambiguity inherent within any identity – including any notion of citizenship – opens the space for a variety of strategies of political resistance. Such strategies may be enacted variously by those who are subject to exclusionary or securitizing practices or by members of the community in whose names such practices are enacted (485).

It should be mentioned, however, that these two avenues for de-securitization are contrasted with the status quo of securitization and expulsion wherein the Roma are neither being meaningfully integrated into the liberal internal market nor is the notion of citizenship and identity being challenged by any notable political actors. The Hollande administration has continued the securitizing practices of its predecessor and the Commission has neither scorned nor threatened infringement proceedings against the current administration as it did with Sarkozy’s.

On the other hand, a brief glance at opinion polls reveals the popularity of these expulsions and of Interior Minister Valls. In a recent French poll, France 24 notes that 77 percent of respondents agree with Valls’ assertion that the Roma are “inassimilable” and “inherently different” and that this necessitates their “return to Romania and Bulgaria” (“Majority”). Likewise, the expulsions probably account for the Interior Minister’s relative popularity, evidenced by his 56 percent approval rating compared to Hollande’s record low 23 percent (Rohr). In the current state of economic difficulties, the euro crisis, and jobless recovery, it could be that the decisive actions towards the Roma give the appearance of politicians having greater agency when political agency has in fact been eroded by the global economy. Thus, securitizing the Roma issue has proven to be a useful tool for politicians who wish to appear as decisive and as possessing greater political agency than they really have.

While there has been a predominant realist rhetoric concerning the rationale behind the Roma expulsions, a liberal humanitarian logic has also surfaced and it is mostly concerned with rationalizing expulsions based on sanitary and public health reasons. Accordingly, the logic posits that the Roma should be expelled for their own safety. Concerning the August, 2012 expulsions and dismantling of two Roma camps near Lille, Minister Valls voiced his concern over the sanitary conditions of the camps: "Unsanitary camps are unacceptable" (Willsher). While asserting that many Roma camps are unsanitary is a valid point, placing blame on the Roma for these unsanitary conditions is problematic. Philippe Goossens notes that municipal governments typically refuse service to Roma camps, which exacerbates the unsanitary conditions, despite the inhabitants wishing otherwise. Goossens says,

Comme les déchets s'accumulent et que les mairies ne mettent que rarement des bennes à ordures près des campements, ou, quand elles en mettent une, elles ne relèvent que tous les deux mois, ces endroits deviennent rapidement infestes par les rats. Ils sont partout […] Il aurait fallu dératiser, mais les poisons contre les rats auraient mis en péril la vie des enfants. Dératiser, de toute façon, n'aurait servi à rien. La solution la plus efficace aurait été de s'attaquer à la racine du mal : les déchets […] Il faudrait que les mairies mettent des bennes à ordures régulièrement relevées ou définissent des points de ramassage des déchets, comme la loi les y oblige, permettant l'éliminations de ces nuisibles (36-37).

The unsanitary conditions of the common areas are in stark contrast to Goossens' descriptions of the Roma's makeshift homes, which he describes as "kitsch, but ordered and tidy" as well as "impeccable" and "welcoming" (32-33). While anecdotal, Goossens' experiences nevertheless contradict Valls' essentialist innuendo of the Roma's unsanitary and nomadic lifestyle. Because municipal governments only sparingly service Roma camps, many take to

burning their garbage in order to deal with the accumulation. This, according to Goossens' testimony, is countered by the fire department putting the fires out, ostensibly so that pilots can safely take off and land, as many Roma camps are located near airports (39-40). Moreover, these actions are a last resort to ameliorate the shame the Roma feel about the sanitary conditions in their camps. Goossens notes, "En fait, les Roms sont particulièrement honteux des déchets au milieu desquels ils doivent vivre et ils ne veulent jamais qu'on filme ou photographie leur environnement. Ils savent que c'est une source majeure d'ennuis" (40). Taking into account both the Roma's desire to have clean camps and municipal governments refusing them adequate service, the association of unsanitary conditions and the Roma presence is more of an easy justification for expulsion than an actual public health concern.

Fiscal Reasons

The presence of Roma from CEE countries in Western Europe has also been associated with added costs to taxpayers and burdens on the welfare systems of destination countries. This fear is codified in French law through the Ministry of Immigrations' Obligation de quitter la territoire française (OQTF) statute. This law requires a foreign national to leave France if he or she is unable to prove financial independence so as not to become a financial burden on the state (Goossens 64). It should be noted, however, that EU law provides provisions concerning deporting individuals who are unable to prove financial independence. As part of the four fundamental freedoms, EU citizens are allowed freedom of movement and the right to settle in different member states provided that the individual can prove financial independence after three months, otherwise, he/she is deported. The legality of the French expulsions regarding this law,

nonetheless, is highly questionable and will be examined later. A June 24, 2010 circulaire from the French ministries of the Interior and Immigration embodies the fears of cost and mess associated with the foreign Roma presence and calls for the dismantling of said camps. “Nous vous demandons de procéder à l’évacuation des campements illicites dans les conditions prévues par la loi, […]”, the document says (Hortfeux & Besson).

If it were the case that foreign Roma come into France, collect welfare, and refuse to work, then the fears surrounding their purported fiscal burden would be legitimate. Conversely, the Roma do not collect welfare because what little employment they do procure is under the table and therefore, they do not even qualify to receive welfare from the French state (Goossens 64). Why the Roma are not able to procure employment will be discussed later but as the FRA report demonstrates, employment is a precondition for receiving welfare and social assistance (FRA 2009: 40). Furthermore, the program of “humanitarian return” allocates €300 per adult and €100 per child for the voluntary return to the home country (Goossens 132). Despite this program, there was a net increase of foreign Roma in France in 2010, leading Goossens to call this program “useless” (Tabet) (Goossens 131-132). The FRA report also calls this little more than “paid vacation” and Valeriu Nicoale, of the Policy Centre for Roma and Minorities in Bucharest, concurs, “The French government is wasting huge amounts of money to give them holidays back in Romania […] What else do you think they’re going to do? After all, it is much more comfortable living in a French ghetto than a Romanian one. They stay a couple of weeks, then they go back to France” (Todd). What Nicolae refers to as a “huge waste of money”, that is to say, humanitarian return and other non-voluntary expulsions, represented a cost of €8,200,000 to the Ministry of Immigration for eleven thousand expulsions in 2010, according to Goossens (128). This amounts to 0.9 percent of the Ministry of Immigration budget, according to both

Goossens and the Commission des Finances de l'Assemblée Nationale (132) (Tabet). Because the foreign Roma only use municipal services sparingly and do not collect welfare, most of the costs associated with the Roma come from expelling them. Moreover, the demonstrated cost of 0.9 percent of the budget of one ministry is hardly burdensome, suggesting that associating the Roma presence with high costs is hyperbolic.

Lack of Social Integration

In perhaps the most controversial and racialist rationale for expulsion, government officials have advocated for expulsions on the grounds that the Roma are not able or willing to socially integrate into French society. This rationale is exemplified by Interior Minister Valls' assertion that the Roma are "inherently different" and "inassimilable", stating that only a minority desire to integrate ("Majority") (RFI). Furthermore, 77 percent of the French population support Vall's assessment, indicating that this opinion is uncontroversial in French politics ("Majority of French believe"). The unspoken innuendo to which Valls' assertion alludes is the perceived inherent nomadism attributed to the Roma. This preconception is problematic and stereotypical because most Roma are in fact sedentary. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights' surveys show that the majority of Roma in Central and Eastern European countries – where the vast majority of Roma reside - are sedentary but migrate westward due to economic pressures and social discrimination (FRA 2009: 18-19). The nomadism linked with Roma in Western Europe comes from the necessity of the Roma to continuously migrate in search of economic opportunities and not out of some primordial notion of inherent nomadism that is often attributed to them (FRA 2009: 26). However, if we abide by the Thomas theorem –

that, “if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” – then the stereotype of inherent nomadism becomes in effect, real, or what Woodcock calls a “powerful discursive frame” (Thomas 571-572) (Woodcock 53). Specifically, Woodcock notes,

> This stereotype is linked to a discourse that imagines the entire [Roma] people as criminal, irreverent towards religion, harbouring sinister magical powers and primitive, as evidenced in promiscuity, dancing, and baby-snatching. This cluster of stereotypes has simultaneously enabled those who project them to remain settled, God-fearing and civilized, and be recognized as citizens within local administrative structures (53).

Far from the official and popular stereotypes attributed to them, the FRA notes that, “Respondents suggested that many of those involved in begging would rather be employed, as begging is regarded as ‘deviant’ behaviour in most destination countries and is sometimes and in some forms unlawful” (FRA 2009: 7). As one Romanian Roma in France states,

> In Romania I worked in the building sector with cousins established in the neighbourhood since Ceausescu, but here I haven’t worked for more than three months. I worked a little for the municipality and then in a printing shop but it closed because it had no work. As I had no educational background, I worked in agriculture and as a logger in the forest. I have not been paid more than five Euro per day and I have no prospects. Yet I am well integrated and I have no problem with the police. My father died, my mother and my two sisters still live in the village and I am their only support. This is why I decided to leave and come to France. I don’t have a job but I am looking for work in the building or in the highway sectors. I want to remain in France to work (FRA 2009: 45).

Sadly, there are barriers both de facto and de jure that contribute to the Roma's difficulty in finding legitimate employment, which in turn, incentivizes begging and under-the-table employment. The importance of employment for social integration cannot be understated and the Roma do not enjoy equal access to employment as the majority of EU citizens do. This is evidenced by the massive Roma unemployment in France with less than 15 percent having fully paid employment (FRA 2012: 2). In a 2009 report, the FRA states, "[…] [employment] crucially affects all other areas of social life. If they can secure employment, in the formal economy they are more likely to access other services, in particular, good housing" (FRA 2009: 6-7). While the EU (the Commission in particular) recognizes the difficulty with which the Roma find employment and therefore has enacted programs – albeit, ineffective ones – to rectify the issue, the French government has largely ignored employment problems. Furthermore, special taxes dissuade French employers from hiring foreign Roma. The employment taxes, part of the EU's "transitional arrangements" of 2003 and 2005 concerning the accession of CEE countries, place fees on hiring Bulgarian and Romanian citizens to quell the fear of cheap Eastern European laborers flooding into France, similar to the anxiety over "Polish Plumbers" (Quick). The Roma are the most affected by these transitional arrangements, as they comprise the majority of Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in France. Specifically, taxes on hiring a Bulgarian or Romanian citizen range from €70 to €1,600 without a guarantee that an autorisation de séjour will be granted (Goossens 62). Per the Treaties of the European Union, any EU citizen has a right to live in and work in any other EU member state as long as he/she can provide for him/herself. The employment taxes associated with the accession treaties of CEE countries, however, limits employment opportunities much more formally. And since employment is necessary for OFII approval, difficulty in obtaining employment and approval leads many Roma

to work illegally, beg, and relocate in search of better employment opportunities (Goossens 63) (Schweitzer). The Commission, realizing the faults of these transitional arrangements, states,

> Lifting restrictions would not only make economic sense, without causing discernible harm to local labour markets, it would also help to avoid some of the more serious problems associated with closed labour markets, in particular undeclared work and bogus self-employment. The volume and direction of mobility flows are driven rather by general labour supply and demand and other factors than by restrictions on labour market access. Restrictions may even delay labour market adjustments and exacerbate the incidence of undeclared work (FRA 2009: 44).

Adding to the problem is the rampant discrimination the Roma face both in their home countries and in their destination countries. According to the FRA, 50 percent of French Roma report being discriminated against in France and it is likely that the non-French Roma experience even greater discrimination (FRA 2009: 19). Given the employment taxes and employment discrimination the Roma experience, the idea that the Roma are "inherently different" or "inassimilable" is problematic at best, and at worst, a cheap political ploy. What the FRA report calls, "Populist calls for 'national jobs for national citizens'" represents a rising xenophobia and racism predicated upon the notion that migrant populations are 'taking our jobs' and it goes against the normative value of greater political union and political integration as expressed in the Treaties of the European Union.

Education

We have seen how the lack of access to the job market, due to both discrimination and taxes, has made the social integration of the Roma in France much more difficult to bring about despite populist claims of their "inherent difference" and unwillingness to assimilate. Similarly, the Roma also lack access to education and healthcare, which represents another significant barrier to their social integration in France. Because the French government does not collect statistics based on ethnicity, evidence is mostly anecdotal, however, the FRA's aforementioned report highlights the low levels of formal schooling amongst the French Roma. Therefore, we can assume the access to schooling amongst illegally situated foreign Roma is much worse than that of the French Roma who exist within the French public sphere. Philippe Goossens provides vivid examples, in his time spent amongst foreign Roma, of the obstacles and administrative bottlenecking Roma families must go through to educate their children. In one case, Goossens notes that a French judge placed two Roma children of an incarcerated man in the care of their mother with public assistance provided by L'Aide Sociale à l'Enfance (ASE). The ASE social workers then placed the children in local elementary and middle schools but only to have the town's mayor disobey the judge's ruling by refusing to teach the children (Goossens 106-107). After, several injunctions, however, the children, Roméo and Florin, were allowed to go to school. The elder student, Florin, suffered bullying and discrimination for being Roma while Roméo became increasingly absent from school, a phenomenon that Goossens attributes to the lack of schooling amongst his fellow Roma children (109-111). Goossens blames the lack of education on three factors: the precariousness of the Roma's situation, culture shock, and the fear of acculturation (107-109). The precariousness of the situation refers to the aforementioned economic and social hardships the Roma experience, which affects all other aspects of their social integration, education included. A Romoeurope report indicates that in November of 2009,

2,642 Roma children were educable but that only 168 were effectively educated (Goossens 107). It does not help that local governments are unenthusiastic about educating the children of unemployed, sans papiers foreign Roma nor does the threat of expulsion nor the poor track record of schooling Roma children. According to Goossens, culture shock also exacerbates the schooling of Roma. He says,

> Les enfants roms vivent en clan, en famille, et restent très attachés à leurs frères et sœurs. Quand ils se retrouvent seuls dans une classe, ils ont perdu leurs repères et n'ont plus de soutien. Et souvent, il peut y avoir un relent de racisme ordinaire […] Les enfants roms peuvent se sentir exclus et isolés. Malgré toute leur envie de jouer avec les autres enfants, ils se sentent différents et peu accueillis (108).

Related to culture shock is the fear of acculturation, of losing what it means to be a Roma in the process of French education. The fear of culture shock and acculturation does not mean finding blame with the Roma nor does it imply that they are unwilling to integrate. It does, however, point to the debate between universalism and communitarianism and whether the model of French integration is too outdated. What remains evident is that myriad Roma families wish for their children to be educated but that barriers make accessing education extremely difficult.

Roméo and Florin's example is not the only one of officials trying to stymie the efforts to educate Roma immigrant children. In another instance, Goossens details how a legitimately employed Roma family asked him to help their children gain access to a local school. Upon submitting the paperwork on behalf of the family, Goossens received no official response and visited the mayor who patently refused to respond to the request. The mayor's reasoning was that

the Roma in that area would eventually be expelled, despite the requirement in French law to educate all children in French administrative districts. Goossens then went directly to a school superintendant who claimed that there were no spaces left in the local school. Only after complaining to an official in the Inspection Académique of the Ministry of Education, were the children able to attend a school on the other side of the commune; a trip that necessitated taking three different buses to arrive at school. By the time the ordeal was over, the family had to relocate to another commune out of fear of being expelled by the OQTF (Goossens 111-114). While there are cultural differences between the foreign Roma and the French, to place blame solely on the Roma for the lack of social integration does not take into account the role of discrimination and official impediments contributing to the low levels of schooling amongst the Roma in France. As with the claim that the Roma do not want to work, these accusations of not assimilating reveal a self-fulfilling prophecy wherein the government is largely responsible for withholding the conditions to enable social integration, yet blames the Roma for not integrating.

Health

Another symptom of the Roma's unofficial migrant status in France is their lack of access to healthcare. Concerning the Roma in the Île-de-France region, Alexandra Nacu states,

Access to healthcare is an everyday problem for many migrant Roma. The health of the Roma population is poorer than that of the countries of origin in terms of life expectancy and the types of diseases to which they are prone – diabetes and high blood pressure are not uncommon in people as young as 30. Harsh living conditions, poverty, and early and numerous pregnancies affect the health of women, who often use abortion at the local hospital as a means of birth

regulation. Tuberculosis is also frequent in Roma camps. Because of the threat of an epidemic, it is among the rare diseases that prompt local health authorities to send teams into the field (25).

The root of the Roma's lack of access to healthcare is their illegal status – attributed to the difficulty in finding jobs – which in turn makes it impossible for them to buy and receive healthcare through the sécurité sociale program. Consequently, the Roma must fend for themselves or wait until their health issues are so severe that they must go to the hospital, as Nacu points out. In some cases, Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) may serve as de facto substitutes for the public system by providing access to preventative medicine and care, such as the care that would allow the Roma to practice birth control as opposed to abortive operations. One such NGO is Médecins du Monde (MdM), an organization that typically works in under-developed countries but that has recently begun serving underprivileged populations in France. Organizations like MdM, however, are spread thin as they are incapable of treating both the preventative and emergency needs of the Roma and other underprivileged groups in France. Furthermore, problems arise due to the language barrier and the lack of medical records of the Roma, putting strains on both MdM and local healthcare providers (Nacu 34-35). As one French midwife states, "[…] for us it's very stressful, just imagine: the girl drops in to the emergency ward and we have nothing on her, no blood group, no ultrasound; she doesn't speak French so we have no information. We have to ask for emergency tests, and, as the hospital is overbooked, it's a pain for everyone (Nacu 35). While groups like MdM charge themselves with helping the Roma, they see themselves fulfilling a role that would normally be fulfilled by the state. To them, if the state were to incorporate the migrant Roma into the public healthcare system then this would mean improved preventative care, less pressure on public health institutions, and more time and resources for MdM to focus on underdeveloped countries (Nacu 34-35).

Housing

The last area of social integration where the Roma are not equal to other foreign EU citizens is in access to acceptable housing. One can hardly think of the Roma without picturing them in makeshift caravans and under rudimentary living conditions. This type of housing arrangement is not the choice of the Roma and hardly represents their ideal way of life but it exists because a lack of legal employment and OFII forms means that legitimate housing is hard to come by (FRA 2009: 7). Essentially living as non-equal EU citizens, the Roma are left to their own devices to come up with whatever basic housing they can muster. Without legitimate housing and forbidden to set up camps close to towns, the Roma live in isolated areas on the margins of society. Furthermore, the Roma prefer to live in clusters of their own family, not individually, in a type of communal living that is not accepted in modern France (Goossens 119-120). For this reason, Roma individuals rarely live in apartments by themselves, a fact to which Minister Valls' would attribute his 'theory' of "inherent difference" ("Majority"). The current political thinking would posit that the Roma are inherently different in their communal living arrangements and that this difference is incompatible with French universalism, which envisions a relationship between the individual-citizen and the state. There are alternatives, however, that would accommodate both the Roma's communal living practices and modern social integration. In Shanghai, for example, local government allocated special urban housing schemes for communally living families relocating from the countryside. Urban apartments are allocated to these families so that they can retain their communal ties yet live and work in a modern urban environment (Goossens 120). The commune of Cesson enacted a similar plan in which the

municipal government offered new housing and professional and social integration programs to local foreign Roma. The FRA's report notes,

In France, the town of Cesson provides another model of positive practice at local authority level. In October 2008, the Tribunal of Melun ordered the eviction of the 15 Romanian Roma families occupying the former camping site of the Travellers of Cesson. The City of Cesson decided to support four families of 25 people giving priority to those whose children were enrolled on the commune. The City of Cesson accommodated these families on a new site and initiated a plan of social and professional integration. While for years they faced extreme instability and insecurity, they now have a fixed and regular residence, legal incomes, the education of the children is encouraging, and there is progress towards permanent housing. The inhabitants of Cesson have found that welcoming foreign families did not present any particular problems. Their presence in the city is no longer contested (FRA 2009: 69).

Given the evidence contrary to the official position that the Roma do not wish to integrate and are incapable of doing so, the Cesson case represents a counter-example to the current paradigm. Alas, in the current economic crisis, it has proven politically expedient – according to opinion polls – to identify a political other to scapegoat for the economic woes. Therefore, enacting the Cesson example would constitute political fodder for right wing politicians who would jump to portray the issue as one in which sparse public goods are given to illegal migrants over hardworking nationals. Hardly a new political maneuver, this type of politics has been used to blame an out group for numerous economic difficulties, from blaming the Jews for the Weimar Republic's economy, to John Major blaming single mothers for the UK's economic downturn in the 90's, to blaming Mexican migrants for taking American jobs. Despite the inefficacy and the expense of the expulsion program, the Interior Minister appears decisive

regardless of the human cost and the violation of EU law, and at a normative level, of ignoring what the Maastricht Treaty calls a movement towards, "greater political union" (The EU – Treaty on European Union).

The Legality of Expulsions

During then-President Sarkozy's expulsion campaign in 2010 in which 8,000 Roma were expelled, the European Commission formally threatened infraction proceedings against France, citing that it had violated EU law. The infraction threat came after media coverage of France's expulsions and after vociferous condemnations from the UK, Germany, as well as the US. Perhaps the most vocal opposition came from Viviane Reding, the center-right Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights, and Citizenship, who said,

This is a situation I had thought Europe would not have to witness again after the Second World War […] This is not a minor offence. After 11 years of experience in the commission, I even go further: this is a disgrace […] No member state can expect special treatment, especially not when fundamental values and European laws are at stake ("EU threatens").

Other prominent leaders like José Barroso, the President of the Commission, and Heinz Fischer, President of Austria, condemned France's expulsions, with the latter saying, "No ethnic group should be discriminated against. Naturally, the Roma should not be discriminated against" ("EU threatens"). Taken aback by the criticism as well as the threat of infringement proceedings, France promised to amend national legislation concerning expulsions thereby, resulting in the Commission rescinding its threats that would have been brought to the European Court of Justice (Gunther 208). The episode is notable as it dealt with accusations of minority rights and civil

liberties abuses; violations that are not generally associated with European member states. In fact, most infringement proceedings concern accusations of member states not adapting economic or trade policies of the EU. To have a founding member state accused of abusing the most basic precepts of the European Union, minority and migration rights, was unprecedented and put the treatment of the Roma at the forefront of unresolved EU issues. Thus, an overview of the areas in which France possibly violated EU law is useful to understanding the politics surrounding the Roma.

Rights afforded to citizens of the European Union namely, the fundamental freedoms to travel, work, and to have access to services and capital, are codified under the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and enhanced by the Lisbon Treaty of 2009. Article 8a of the Maastricht Treaty states, "Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty and by the measures adopted to give it effect (The EU – Treaty on European Union). As we have seen, the "limitations and conditions" to which the Treaty refers are those that dictate EU citizens must prove their ability to provide for themselves in other member states so as not to burden those states' welfare systems. Thus, it goes without saying that all member states must respect these fundamental freedoms and the statues that limit them as member states have agreed, by joining the EU, that European law supersedes domestic law (Gunther 213, 217). If a member state wishes to limit an EU citizen's right to work and travel, as France does with the Roma, then it must do so in accordance with EU law and any government action must be proportionate to the scenario or threat, what is referred to as the Proportionality Principle. With its threat of infringement proceedings, the Commission affirmed its belief that the French expulsions were not proportional to the threat posed by the situation of foreign Roma (Gunther 218). The last

principle to consider is one that was set in precedent by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) case D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic. While the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and the ECtHR are separate entities, the ECJ refers to the latter's case law and considers those laws as part of EU law. This case establishes that intent is not required to constitute a violation of EU law. By establishing a two track system of education that almost uniformly placed Roma children in the lower education track, the ECtHR found that the Czech Republic violated the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms even though the discrimination was indirect and ostensibly unintentional (New & Merry 89) (Gunther 215). Put simply, a state cannot claim ignorance of discrimination and not be held responsible for the indirect violation of EU law against discrimination.

With these principles of EU law in mind, a more in depth look into the Roma expulsions calls into question the legality of France's expulsions. To restrict freedom of movement, a state can only do so, "on the grounds of public policy, public security or public health" and expulsions can only be based upon the conduct of an individual. Specifically, Gunther notes,

> […] a restriction must comply with the proportionality principle, which requires that a measure taken by the government be appropriate for securing the objective pursued, and must not go beyond what is necessary in order to attain the objective. For example, a Member State's automatic expulsion of a national of another Member State for failing to provide a certain type of proof of the existence of financial resources is disproportionate. On the other hand, curtailing the freedom of movement of an individual who had been imprisoned for conspiring to disturb the public order by intimidation or terror is proportionate (218).

By this metric, France blatantly violated EU law by not examining the legality of an individual's migration status by a system of adjudication that would determine if he/she was in violation of freedom of movement. If France were to expel an individual after demonstrating through a legal process that he/she could not provide for him/herself, then the expulsion of said individual would be legal. France, however, not only violated proportionality by expelling without adjudication but it targeted a specific ethnic group without any legal adjudication (Gunther 219). This statute is codified under article 4 or protocol 4 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, "Collective expulsion of aliens is prohibited" (Council of Europe). Most damning perhaps, are the leaked government documents that blatantly disregard this statute by specifically targeting Roma aliens. "Le Président de la République a fixé des objectifs précis, le 28 juillet dernier, pour l'évacuation des campements illicites: 300 campements ou implantations illicites devront avoir été évacués d'ici 3 mois, en priorité ceux des Roms" (Bart). Thus, the actions taken by France toward its ostensible goal of reducing crime and promoting integration is grossly disproportionate in both its targeting of an identifiable group and in its lack of judiciary process.

While there is little doubt over whether the forced expulsions violated EU law, it is less clear whether the humanitarian return program, in which French authorities paid the Roma to voluntarily leave, constitutes a violation of EU law. Objections to the humanitarian return take three forms. The first objection is over whether humanitarian return is coerced or not. Supporters claim that the money given to the Roma represents opportunities to "invest in their country", as one French parliamentarian saw it (Gunther 219). Conversely, humanitarian return could constitute a choice between getting paid to leave and being forced out at a later time, which is what some Roma allege the French police told them. If these allegations are true, they would

obviously call into question the voluntary nature of humanitarian return. Similarly, Gunther states, “Given the impoverished state of many Roma, one could argue that a Roma person's decision to accept the monetary payment is not actually entirely free” (219). Secondly, it is likely that the humanitarian return program violated the aforementioned protocol 4, article 4 as well as article 14 of the Convention on Human Rights. As we have seen, protocol 4, article 4 prohibits the collective expulsion of aliens while article 14 prohibits differential treatment based on identifiable and/or objective/personal characteristics including, “race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status” (Council of Europe). France’s response to these allegations of violation, however, would be that these actions were proportionate to the aim of reducing crime and illegal migration (Gunther 220). Since no entity has brought a case to either the ECJ or the ECtHR, it must be pointed out that this scenario is hypothetical. Thirdly and finally, one could make the argument that humanitarian return violates article 8 of Convention for Human Rights, concerning rights to privacy and family life.

Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence. There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others (Council of Europe).

Concerning the expulsions and this statute, Gunther states,

One could argue that, by offering Roma monetary compensation to leave the homes they have chosen, the French government has demonstrated a lack of respect for the Roma's chosen home […] Furthermore, could the Roma really feel at home, and believe that their right to reside in France has been protected, when the government's actions clearly send the message that their presence is resented? Thus, France's actions may be indirectly contravening Article 8 (221).

Of course, the French government maintains that its actions are proportional to the goal of what they see as protecting the Roma as well as public safety and health. Responding to Commissioner Reding's criticisms, then-foreign ministry spokesperson Bernard Valero stated, "We don't think that this kind of declaration will help improve the predicament of the Roma, who are at the heart of our concerns" ("EU threatens"). With the continued expulsion campaign under President Hollande, the French government still maintains that humanitarian return both conforms to EU law and that it is proportional to its security and public health goals. Without any cases taken to the ECJ or the ECtHR, however, both forced expulsions and humanitarian return remain in the grey area of EU law, despite strong evidence and official condemnations speaking to their illegality. Thus, it is confounding as to why no further actions have been taken against France's continued expulsion of foreign Roma other than the infringement proceeding threats in 2010. The Hollande administration has enthusiastically continued Sarkozy's expulsion program and the EU has remained inexplicably silent in spite of the Commission's belief in the illegality of expulsion.

The "Integration Question"

The dominant discourse surrounding the Roma in France and in Europe has presented the situation as one of the "Roma question", or in some cruder cases, as the "Roma problem" (Sigona 71). The "Roma Question" is a euphemism for the debate over the status and treatment of the Roma in Europe, as a singular group without its own nation state. The contemporary discourse over the Roma bears a striking resemblance to the "Jewish question", which also sought to address the status and treatment of another stateless minority in Europe. But whereas the Jewish question culminated with the Jewish state of Israel as an answer to "[…] Europe's [unavoidable] hatred of its Jewish population […]", the Roma remain targets of discourse over their own treatment (Mahler 19). In the discourse of the "Roma question', however, the Roma become subjects of debate, wherein exogenous beliefs about the Roma guide the policies enacted towards them. With the Roma question, current discourse sees the Roma as problems without taking the system of integration into account. By using exogenous portrayals of the nature of the Roma, the current discourse posits that they do not fit into French and European society. By ascribing characteristics, non-Roma create the subject of the Roma and then argue that because of these characteristics, the Roma are a problem. The logic of the Roma question takes for granted its own presuppositions about the Roma as true without ever questioning these presuppositions and without questioning how the Roma come to be seen as problems. Thus we take Paulo Freire's advice that to look at the situation at its whole requires us to not merely look at the Roma as fragmented "problems" but as constituent elements of the whole, in this case, the French model of integration (Freire 104). Hence, we look at the situation of the Roma in France by converting the "Roma question" into the "integration question" as a way to critically decode the lens through which we see both the Roma and integration.

According to Émile Durkheim, to study integration means to take into account all of the groups that compose the society. Schnapper states, “L’intégration de la société moderne ne concerne pas seulement la société en général, c’est-à-dire la société nationale, mais tous les groupes particuliers qui la composent” (30). With the Treaties of the European Union, member states have had to harmonize national social integration and citizenship with those of the EU. Furthermore, the French example is especially peculiar as the republican model of integration entails a relationship between the individual citizen and the state as the main conduit of solidarity (Bleich 273-274). The apparent rift thus becomes evident when we take into account the EU’s idea of citizenship as one defined between what Parker calls the “mobile citizen” – with freedom of movement and employment – and a supranational entity, the European Union (477). Consequently, there is a contradiction between the nation-centric vision of the French republican model and the neoliberal supranational European vision of integration and citizenship that de-emphasizes the role of the nation-state. With this in mind, the “integration question” seeks to explore Roma integration (“groupes particuliers”) in relation to both the European and the French models of integration and citizenship.

Amidst Sarkozy’s expulsions in 2010, Roma non-governmental organizations (NGOs) campaigned around the slogan, “ROMA=CITIZENS” to highlight that the expelled Roma were in fact EU citizens (Parker 484). The extent to which EU citizenship resembles member state citizenship is spurious, however, considering the aforementioned limitations on freedom of movement to those who are financially independent. Contrary to the recent hysteria about floods of Romanian and Bulgarian “benefits tourists” to collect welfare benefits in wealthier western member states, Open Society Foundations notes that there are no figures to back up these fears (“What Is”). In fact, Eurostats’ 2012 report indicates that EU citizens living in another member

state only accounted for 2.5 percent of the EU population in 2011 (The EU – The European Commission). Owen Parker argues that the EU's models of citizenship has citizens conforming to either "settled national citizens", associated with a particular member state or as "mobile human capital or entrepreneur" (484). Therefore, if an EU citizen is to migrate, then she will conform to the "mobile entrepreneur" model who migrates freely to exchange her labor, services, or capital in a member state other than her own, in the ethos of the Maastricht Treaty's four freedoms. Consequently, the Roma find themselves in an interstitial position between the EU's dichotomous views of citizenship. Faced with rampant unemployment and discrimination in both their home countries and destination countries, the Roma are neither "settled citizens" on equal footing with their non-Roma counterparts nor "mobile entrepreneurs" with skills to bring to the common market (Parker 484). Understanding this, the Commission organized structural relief funds (e.g. skills education) to integrate EU Roma citizens into the common market, albeit unsuccessfully (Guy 30-31). Implied in the Commission's logic is the neoliberal belief that the EU needs to integrate the Roma as "delinquent citizens" into proper roles as "entrepreneurial" citizens, who migrate as individual EU citizens and not collectively in tight-knit groups, as the Roma typically live (Parker 477). Of course, if the Roma are not to be "entrepreneurial citizens", then they are to be "settled citizens" of their member states, which necessitates examining how the Roma fit into the French republican model of integration.

Behind the discourse over whether the Roma are willing and/or capable of integrating lies the innuendo of debate over communitarianism in France. Despite official claims, evidenced by Manuel Valls' unambiguous quip that the Roma are "inassimilable", the FRA's surveys and Goossens' anecdotes suggest that the foreign Roma in France seek employment and legal residence, albeit with communal forms of living. Goossens argues that it is the Roma preference

for communal living that explains why they largely forego living independently (120). Consequently, Valls' assertion that the Roma are inassimilable refers to the communitarian organization of Roma culture, which is incompatible with the republican model of integration. Taking into account the growing diversity in France as well as the increasing mobility of EU citizens due to freedom of movement and the disappearance of borders, the republican model seems rigid and outdated. The rigidity of the republican model may also rule out alternative forms of integration that provide benefits of solidarity for members of that group.

France, however, is not unfamiliar with communitarianism. Belorgey argues,

Il me semble que le mot communautarisme est essentiellement de l'ordre de la stigmatisation. On parle de communautarisme quand on veut conjurer des formes d'organisation de la société qui la rendraient segmentée et écartelée. […]On continue à employer, de façon non désobligeante, le mot de communauté dans un certain nombre d'autres circonstances : la communauté des chercheurs, la communauté des planificateurs, la communauté chrétienne, la communauté juive…, sont autant de mots de la langue courante dans lesquels personne ne voit malice (Zappi 5).

Communitarianism is only dangerous, therefore, when applied to out groups, those groups that are unfamiliar and whose customs seem strange and threatening to the majority. No one would argue that Catholic community, the Protestant community, or the Jewish community in France represent a threat to individual rights or a civic detachment from French society. Immigrants in France must also contend with the lack of affirmative action policies - or any policies that acknowledge race and ethnicity at all - which are typically used to study economic disparities along racial/ethnic lines. In French integration policy, no official policies

acknowledge Roma poverty compared to that of non-Roma. Furthermore, looking towards the ethnic community is frowned upon as a weakening of the state's role in providing welfare and solidarity. Bleich notes that because the French government treats citizens irrespective of origin, "French institutions focus on immigrant problems of poor housing, low skills, and educational difficulties as problems potentially faced by all residents" (274). Where the French government has failed to address the issues especially pertinent for ethnic minorities, it is solidarity amongst particular ethnic groups that filled the void. Speaking of Belarusian immigrants in the interwar period, Nacira Guénif states,

> Il y a ainsi toujours eu ces communautés immigrantes qui existaient de manière très empirique et très pratique (pour résoudre des problèmes matériels mais aussi pour apporter un soutien moral et affectif) mais elles n'ont pas été reconnues de manière officielle. Pour une raison simple : c'est la perspective universaliste et assimilationniste qui a prévalu, et qui n'a pas laissé place à la reconnaissance des communautés (Zappi 4).

The material and moral support offered by communitarianism speaks to the positive characteristics of solidarity and integration that communitarian membership confers to individuals, especially to those threatened by social marginalization. Scholars have long demonstrated the benefits of communitarian notions of belonging and the relationship between the individual and the group. Durkheim's Le Suicide examines the phenomenon of "anomic suicide", which entails a lack of influence of the collective social order on the individual that would regulate and give meaning to the individual's life. Thus, suicide is inversely proportional to the degree of integration between the individual and his or her group (Schnapper 30-31). Also important to note is what constitutes an integrated group. According to Philippe Besnard, a group is integrated when its members share a common conscience (sentiments, beliefs, etc.), interact

with one another as a domestic society, and when they share common goals in the political sense (Schnapper 33). The monopolization of power by the state and the increasing differentiation in society has made interdependent relations denser and more complex, according to Robert Elias (Schnapper 47). Paradoxically, the increase in interdependence – the chains of reciprocal dependence – has led to increased social atomization and a decrease in civic engagement and associational involvement in the West (Putnam 3). While only 2.5 percent of EU citizens may live in a member state other than their own, the idea of the "mobile entrepreneur" model of European citizenship best represents the turn towards individual identity and the weakening of the ties between the individual and collective influence on the individual.

"La République est une promesse faite à ceux qui s'engagent à la respecter, à la défendre et pas à ceux qui ne se sentent aucun devoir à l'égard de la France. Devenir français doit être un acte de volonté" (Sarkozy). The reaction against communitarianism, as seen with Sarkozy's above statement, often implies a false dichotomy between state-centered solidarity and communitarian solidarity wherein identifying with the "groupe particulier" necessarily weakens ties to the larger society. On the contrary, one can simultaneously integrate oneself with the communitarian group and the larger outside host community. Illustrative of this, is Thomas' and Zwaniecki's study of Polish immigrants in interwar Chicago, The Polish Peasant, in which they argue that ethnic communitarianism and civic engagement with the adopted society lead to a 'reorganization' of the community from a state of previous 'disorganization'. Thomas and Zwaniecki posit that the weakening of the influence of group social norms – Polish norms, in this case - leads to social deviancy amongst that group's members, which they call 'disorganization'. This occurred during times of social change and upheaval associated with Polish immigration to the US. The immigrants, however, effectively remade the old society by reorganizing new forms

of social life by using the American public education system, shared urban space, the local ethnic Polish-language press and by creating solidarity with other Polish immigrants (Schnapper 51). Of the Polish-American integration, Schnapper states, “Tout en continuant à participer à la vie communautaire et à parler leur langue d’origine, ils apprendront la langue, l’histoire, et les idéaux de la société d’accueil” (52). The model of integration studied in The Polish Peasant allows simultaneous integration with the ethnic community and the host country without legitimate concerns that individual rights are being violated or that the immigrants are not civically engaged with the new country. Polish communitarianism meant that that Poles simultaneously had a Polish and an American identity - hence the existence of hyphenated Americans – and an ‘over-ground’ existence because such pluralistic communtarianism was allowed. Overground existence is what separates the Polish example from the situation of the Roma in France. Whilst the Roma may be integrated amongst themselves, their existence as a group is very much underground and adds to their portrayal as the dangerous other. As such, the Roma are “quarantined to less visible yet easily watched spaces”, their camps (Pusca 1). Akin to the idea of an ‘over-ground’ visibility, Charles Taylor argues for a politics of acknowledgement that takes into account individuals’ communitarian values instead of the French model that only sees people as abstract citizens. Far from a “closing of society” that denotes closed-off, impermeable groups, a politics of acknowledgement allows for the multiple, permeable cultural spheres within the larger sphere of French society (Schnapper 91-92).

Again, the Cesson example serves as a powerful case of the politics of acknowledgement and as a counterexample to the portrayal of the Roma’s lifestyle as not capable of integration. It is in this commune that the local government allocated familial housing units to the foreign Roma as well as provided the means to legal employment and education, effectively bringing the

local Roma community out of the invisibility of the underground (Goossens 120) (FRA 2009: 69). Much like the Polish example, the Roma in Cesson can exist as members of the Roma community while remaining actively engaged – through employment and education – with the larger community. Given that there are only an estimated twelve thousand to seventeen thousand foreign Roma in France, the Cesson example proves to be a better model than the current policy of forcibly removing communities without any assurance that they will not return. This model requires an acceptance of communitarianism, however, which remains an idea non grata in France, but one that may be best suited to integrate migrants in their own communities as well as the larger host country.

Conclusion

The current discourse surrounding the Roma constitutes a subject, the Roma presence, as a problem with identifiable properties to be fixed with a solution, expulsion. The situation, however, is much more complex as the expulsions are based on spurious assumptions and mistaken presuppositions. What I hope to have shown is the necessity of questioning the presuppositions that guide the French government's expulsion policies. This questioning has revealed that assumptions about the Roma in France are in fact not particular to the Roma but the result of social conditions that often induce a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is not the case that the Roma are lazy and prefer begging over legitimate employment, but that taxes and discrimination exist, which makes it very difficult to find jobs. Likewise, it is not true that the Roma are incapable of integration but rather that is difficult to find adequate housing and educational resources. In some cases, barriers for the Roma are finite, such as employment taxes, and in other

cases, barriers may be more theoretical, such as the rigidity of the republican model of integration. Counter-examples - like the Cesson plan to house, educate, and employ Roma in a way that suits both the Roma minority and the non-Roma majority - suggest that a more pluralistic approach may better serve multicultural France than the republican model. Greater visibility in literature and culture is also necessary to bring Roma voices to the milieu of French multiculturalism. To avoid being represented as social problems and outsiders, the Roma need to define themselves as subjects in multicultural France. Politically, greater European Union political coordination will be necessary as the expulsions are a reaction to forces of migration outside France's power. Better coordination will be needed to assuage the dire social inequalities the Roma face across the EU that lead to their segregation and impoverishment in their home countries as well as their desire to migrate in search of better opportunities. Most importantly, political coordination is necessary so as to avoid putting an impoverished and historically maligned group through the humiliation and upheaval of mass expulsion. Finally, sensitivity towards the historical treatment of the Roma is called for so that their presence is not used as a political scapegoat for populist politicians to deflect blame for complicated politico-economic crises in Europe. It is much too politically convenient for member state politicians worried about reelection to blame the Roma for economic woes and the shrinking welfare state than to actually attempt to coordinate political capital towards fixing those economic issues. If the European Union exists for "greater political union" as the Maastricht Treaty states, then the Roma must be a genuine priority deserving of serious political action that includes the Roma instead of treating them as a problem to be fixed.

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